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On 16, 17 and 23 June, the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Legislative Yuan of the Chinese Government held "secret" (closed) sessions at which time members had the opportunity to question Minister of Foreign Affairs, WANG Shih-chieh.

1. The following is a summary of Minister WANG's report on the objectives of China's foreign policy given before the Commission on 16 June:
  - (1) To increase the power of the United Nations
  - (2) To uphold the right of veto. However, China will not oppose certain limitations on the use of this right.
  - (3) To limit the veto right of the five nations having the largest populations.
  - (4) To maintain Sino-American friendship and cooperation. During the years since 1942 there have been three main obstacles to Sino-American Friendship:
    - (a) The anti-Nationalist Government propaganda carried on by Chinese Communists has influenced certain Americans against the National Government of China and has permitted some to make slanderous attacks against the Government.
    - (b) The nation-wide civil war in China has made certain Americans believe that aid to China was to participate in China's civil war.
    - (c) The vagueness of the United States policy towards China.
  - (5) To cooperate with the United States on various international problems but not to follow blindly the example of the United States.

Minister WANG also stated that Soviet aid to the Chinese Communists was limited.

12. The following questions were asked by members of the Commission:
- (1) By P'AN Chao-ying:
- (a) The new Soviet ambassador to China, Roshchin, is a well known intelligence worker. Why then did the Chinese Government lightly agree to his appointment? Is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in possession of any intelligence report on the subject of Roshchin's appointment?

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- (b) United States Government officials often refer to the Communist rebellion in China in their reports and documents as the "civil war in China". Why does not the Chinese Government correct this apparent mis-representation? Does the Chinese Government acknowledge the existence of a "civil war" in China?

(2) Many questions were asked by members concerning Japan, particularly the stationing of troops in Japan to which Minister WANG replied:

The question as to whether the various countries should withdraw their troops from Japan immediately after the signing of the Peace Treaty is one to which we should pay special attention. Our opinion is that the Allied troops should prolong their occupation of Japan indefinitely and that China should also be allowed to participate in the control of Japan. Certain people have proposed that "troops should be withdrawn from Japan and ambassadors from Four Nations be appointed as political supervisors of the country." However, our opinion is that these ambassadors without troops can do nothing when anything serious happens, and therefore, even after the signing of the Peace Treaty, an armed control of Japan should be continued.

3. The following questions were asked and comments made by Commission members at the meeting on June 7:

(1) By HU Chang-ting, Minister of Organization of the Kuomintang Central Headquarters:

(a) The Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty was signed from the Sino-Soviet Agreement. It was an act of generosity on the part of the Soviet Government at the expense of the Chinese. Why did not the Chinese Government refuse to sign the treaty?

(b) We have been too humble to the Americans. As a result, not only the American people but also their responsible government leaders have been open in their insulting criticisms of our Government. Some among us say that "we cannot adopt a strong policy with the Americans, because, if we do, the Americans will not sign the Sino-Soviet Treaty." However, the fact is not so. The Americans have not signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty because they want to, not because they are afraid of a strong China. We should be able to sign it.

(2) By CH'AO Hui-mu:

(a) After the signing of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty, at the time when our troops were being sent into the Northeast to take over the Northeast, did not the American authorities request our government for permission to survey the Northeastern and Inner Mongolian territories in order to compile a military map of these areas? And in return, did they not offer to give us a copy of the military map when completed? From what I hear, the secret directive ordering our troops in the Northeast to give special protection to the American Survey Group fell into the hands of the Chinese Communists who handed it over to the Soviet authorities. To what extent is this story true? Is there any relation between this incident and the hardening of the Soviet policy in the Northeast?

(b) The principal aim of the United States in the Far East is to stop the Soviets from finding outlets on the Pacific coast. However, for the past two years, the Americans have concentrated their resources in strengthening their military bases in Japan, South Korea, Ryukyu Islands, Formosa and the South Sea Islands. Is not this an indication that they are preparing to abandon China on the Asiatic mainland when the need arises?

(3) By JUNG Chao:

(a) Minister WANG has spoken on Sino-Soviet relations and the Outer Mongolian problem. He said that, though Soviet Russia wishes the participation of Outer Mongolia in the United Nations, he will oppose such participation. Now, though there are no diplomatic relations between China and Outer Mongolia, is it not true that China has already recognized the independence of Outer Mongolia? In which case, is it not logical that we should take steps to befriend Outer Mongolia?

(b) Lately, there were rumors of the organization of a Manchurian-Mongolian Republic. Is there any definite information on this? What attitude will our Government take?

- 3 -

- (c) Recently, two Outer Mongolian youths arrived in Peiping with reports of Soviet oppression in Outer Mongolia. We hope the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will make known these stories of Soviet oppression in Outer Mongolia to the world and enable the two young men to play their part in the fight for racial freedom and democracy of Outer Mongolia.

(4) By T'AO Jung:

Our most important foreign policies at present are those having to do with the United States and Soviet Russia. The United States is a rich and powerful country, and till now, has given us considerable aid. Soviet Russia is a very powerful nation bordering our country for several thousand miles and therefore, we must be very careful in dealing with her. However, lately, Soviet Russia has violated her treaty with us, while the United States is also tending to decrease her aid. We must therefore have new foreign policies to deal with the situation. Namely, we must aim to increase diplomatic cooperation with those countries, besides the United States and Soviet Russia, that have important relations with us. Specifically, we must aim at establishing closer ties with Great Britain, and also with Burma, Siam and Indo-China. Our close bond with these countries would then influence the United States and Soviet Russia to change their present attitude to one of friendship with us.

(5) By CHANG Ch'ien-hua:

- (a) The United States is supporting Japan because we are unable to play our part in stopping Soviet expansion in the Far East. However, we have so far been following America's policies. Why then have we not been able to obtain what we want from the United States?
- (b) Oppression of Japan would force her on the road to Communism while the aiding of Japan might encourage her to renew her imperialistic designs. Some people say that "America will never let Japan grow so powerful as to enable her to invade other countries". These may not be mere words. However, America's purpose in aiding Japan is to transform Japan into a first line of defense against Soviet Russia. Therefore, if, in the future, Japanese troops come into the Northeast, what can we do to stop them?

(6) By CH'I Chih-ou:

- (a) The current crisis in the world situation and in the situation in China was caused by mistakes in the Roosevelt policy.
- (b) The intellectuals, students and the general public in China are all opposed to American aid to Japan. They fear that this aid might result in Japan's resumption of her oppressive policies. I am well aware of the patriotic motive behind this fear. However, we must understand that what they fear cannot happen within the coming twenty years. Today, we have a more pressing problem at hand. Under cover of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty, Soviet Russia is actively participating in our civil war. Whether we can live through the following two years has become a problem. Our fate will be decided in the coming two years. Why then need we be all worked up over something which cannot happen within the coming twenty years? Is it not a misjudgment of the comparative importance of a problem?

(7) By HSIANG T'ung:

We should try to influence the United States to give military aid to China and even to participate actively in our civil war. This is the only way to solve our current domestic problem.

(8) By KUO T'ien-i:

We should pay special attention to the matter of American aid to Japan because we cannot afford to take chances on Japan becoming strong once more. It is said that the United States is aiding Japan because she fears that otherwise Japan might become sovietized. However, we must understand that the possibility of Japan becoming sovietized has never really existed. The reason is evident from a study of Japan's history and culture and from the fact that the Japanese people are still faithful to their emperor.

(9) By LIU Wen-i:

Minister WANG has said in his report that Soviet aid to the Chinese Communists is limited. However, my personal opinion is that there is no limit to the Soviet aid to the Chinese Communists. They are more likely to increase more and more.

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## 4. Minister WANG replied to the questions asked 22 June as follows:

- (1) As to whether or not there will be a Third World War, I cannot make a definite answer. However, we cannot deny that the current world situation is extremely critical.  
You have asked me what will be our Government's stand on the subject, and I can only say "I am for peace....."  
The only ways of avoiding another world war are to increase the powers of the UN, to limit the use of the right of veto and to set up in the near future an international police force.
- (2) As to the Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty, the Government is not considering annulling the treaty (several Legislative members have proposed the annulment of the treaty). The Government will continue to negotiate with Soviet Russia directly.

## 5. Minister WANG replied to the questions asked 23 June as follows:

- (1) Regarding the problem of increasing the power of the United Nations: Some people in the world today hope for a clash between the United States and the USSR and others for a compromise. But neither are favorable solutions to the current world problem. In case of another war, nobody will be safe from its disastrous consequences. Therefore, the only way to ensure a lasting world peace is to increase the powers of the United Nations, etc.
- (2) Regarding the problem of Japan: In connection with the opposition of various people in China to United States aid to Japan, there are two points worth discussing - (1) Whether or not the United States is giving military aid to Japan, and (2) Whether or not the United States is giving economic aid to Japan. We have so far not been able to find any proofs of such United States aids to Japan.

## 6. Further questions were asked on 23 June by HUANG T'ung as follows:

- (a) At the last meeting, I proposed to Minister WANG that we should try our best to persuade the United States to start a war. Minister WANG's reply to me at that time was that "we will not give up our hope for peace because there are many problems that war cannot solve". This might be true, but I wonder if Minister WANG really believes what he said. It is true we do not want another war, but there are many problems that only war can solve. Could Hitler have been overthrown without a war? Could we have solved the problem of Japanese aggression without a war? Is there now any other way of stopping Soviet Russia besides war? Without a war, can we take away her right of veto? Therefore, war is inevitable, and all our future foreign policies should aim towards bringing about a speedy war between the United States and Soviet Russia.
- (b) Minister WANG has just said that the United States is neither giving military nor economic aid to Japan. But I do not believe the Americans are that honest. They have at present one main idea. They do not want to aid China because they fear the creation of fascism in China. Neither do they trust the Chinese Communists and, therefore, their last recourse is to aid Japan. By re-arming the Japanese army, they can either use the army against Soviet Russia or China. If China becomes a Fascist dictatorship, they can use the (Japanese) army to overthrow the dictatorship, and if China becomes Communistic, they can also do the same. The Americans will not re-arm the Japanese navy or the air force, but they can certainly re-arm the Japanese Army, which, indeed, for the Japanese, will be a golden and undreamed of opportunity. Therefore, the most important problem in our foreign policy should be how to win back American friendship so as to check Japan and Soviet Russia.

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Comment: The following is a translation of a printed circular marked "secret" which was given members of the Commission, (presumably at the 16 June meeting):

OUTLINE OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOR THE LATTER PART OF 1948

## I Improvement of China's relations with America, Great Britain, USSR and France.

(1) Policy toward America

The Sino-American diplomatic relations in the past have been very friendly. However, because of the propaganda activities of the Communist Party and other Leftist organizations, most of the American people have lost sympathy with our country. For this reason, we should, henceforth, try to improve the situation by intensifying our efforts in strengthening the cultural,

-5-

educational, scientific and technical work between the two countries. America's economic and military aid to China should be carried out extensively, however, with only the understanding that it will not encroach upon China's sovereignty. The aid must be used for national rehabilitation, suppression of Communists, and the maintenance of everlasting peace in East Asia.

(2) Policy toward Great Britain and her Dominions

For the purpose of maintaining permanent peace in the world and successfully promoting the work of the various international organizations, it is necessary to improve the friendly relations between China and Great Britain. Through cultural activities we have already agreed to exchange students and university professors to either study or teach in various schools in both countries. The unsettled issues between the two countries should be discussed and eventually solved. In regards to improving the relationship between the British colonies and China, we have recently signed a temporary trade agreement with Canada. In the future, we hope to conclude a permanent commercial pact to improve our economic cooperation with Canada. Because of her rapid rehabilitation work after the Second World War, Australia has gradually improved her position among the British colonies. As a result of the elevation of our diplomatic representative to the rank of Ambassador, we will be able to improve Sino-Australian relations as well as the position of the Chinese nationals residing in Australia. With South Africa and New Zealand, we should take immediate measures to improve our friendship. A treaty of amity between China and New Zealand is now under discussion. A treaty with South Africa, which once failed to be ratified, should be brought up for reconsideration.

(3) Policy toward Soviet Russia

The problems between the two countries must be solved according to the basic principles of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty.

(4) Policy toward France

China's relations with both France and French-Indo-China are improving. With the exception of the four incidents that occurred at Hsinhsiang in the Nanchi area from which the Chinese Government has already received recompensation from the French Government, all the rest of the unsettled issues between China and these two countries must be discussed and brought to an early settlement.

II. Improvement of China's Relations with the Countries in Europe.

Among all the countries in Europe we are on friendly terms with Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Greece and Portugal. Our policy towards Belgium and Switzerland is to promote economic and cultural friendship. Above all, we are trying to cooperate with the United Nations in maintaining world peace. As to Portugal, we must take up seriously the question of Macao. The treaty of amity with Italy and Greece is now being discussed. To help settle the border unrest in Greece, the Chinese Government has become a member of the United Nations Special Balkan Committee to investigate the matter. At present, the Committee is drafting a report concerning the entire case. We have also been improving our social and economic relations with Sweden and Norway. In negotiating with the Netherlands Government, we will request that proper protection be given to our nationals residing in the Netherlands East Indies.

III. Improvement of China's relations with the Latin-American countries.

We will carry out the rest of the plan which we have made in 1944, that is, to rearrange our personnel and increase the number of embassies in the Central and South American countries. We will conclude a treaty of commerce and amity with the leading countries in Central and South America based on the principles of equal reciprocity. We will also help to elevate the position of our Nationals residing in these countries.

IV. Improvement of China's relations with the countries in the Far East

(1) Policy toward India

China's relations with India are extremely important. Our special diplomatic representative in India has recently been elevated to the rank of Ambassador. In promoting diplomatic relations and cooperation between China and India, two of the important countries among the family of nations, it is necessary hereafter, to work together in the fields of culture, news information, etc. A Sino-Indian commercial treaty is now being discussed.

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-6-

(2) Policy toward Siam

China's relations with Siam must be improved because of the wide-spread anti-Chinese movement there. In addition to taking positive steps to negotiate with the Siamese Government, the Chinese Government is planning to intensify their propaganda activities among the Siamese people so as to make them understand our policy as well as the need of better Sino-Siamese cooperation.

(3) Policy toward the Philippines.

After the Sino-Philippine Treaty of Amity was signed, China's relations with the Philippines have gradually improved. In order to effect an early trade agreement, a draft of the agreement is now being prepared. Because the Philippines has only recently become an independent state, a strong feeling of nationalism is prevailing throughout the country. Therefore, we should take the necessary measures to prevent their anti-Chinese feeling from spreading any further.

(4) Policy toward Burma

At the Burmese Independence Day celebration in January this year, Vice Minister YEH was the Chinese special representative. Later in February, official diplomatic relations between the two countries were established and the result was the exchange of ambassadors. Our Government is planning to open a consulate at Lashio in order to protect the Chinese nationals in North Burma and also to improve trade and communications. Since the Burmese people have suffered a great deal during the war and, because of the constant thought of insecurity, our Government should help the Burmese set up a strong Government. In addition

In addition to the above-mentioned countries in the Far East, there is Pakistan, one of the autonomous states in the British commonwealth. So far the diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan have not been established. However, when it becomes necessary to maintain diplomatic relations, official representatives will be exchanged. In regards to Korea, we shall try to find a way to help the Koreans establish an independent state at the earliest possible date; then we can establish friendly diplomatic relations with Korea.

- V. The strengthening of the United Nations, and our participation in the activities of its various organizations and conferences.  
As a member of the United Nations, China shall render its greatest efforts in assisting the United Nations to increase its activities. China will participate in all international organizations established by the United Nations and make every effort to become one of its outstanding leaders.

- VI. Treaty of Amity and Commerce with foreign countries.  
In accordance with our established foreign policy, treaties of amity shall be concluded with those countries that have not established diplomatic relations with China, such as the newly-established states of Indonesia, Vietnam and Korea. If they can succeed in becoming independent states this year, we will conclude treaties of amity and establish permanent diplomatic relations with them in order to protect the interests of our emigrants in the same way as we have in the Philippines.  
In matters concerning commercial treaties with other countries, our Government expects soon to complete a commercial treaty with Britain and India. We are also expecting to conclude commercial treaties with the Philippines, Siam, Argentina, Chile and other countries at an early date. Commercial treaties with other countries which will be of great commercial benefit to our people overseas, such as with France and the Netherlands, must be completed as soon as possible.

- VII. The Peace Treaty with Japan  
The peace treaty with Japan must be concluded at an early date. The basic objective of the treaty is to eliminate Japanese aggression completely and destroy her war potential, that is, her military, economic and commercial enterprises. Our Government must demand a large share of the reparations from the Japanese. We must see to it that Japan as a nation establishes the principles of a true democracy. In order to attain the above objectives, our Government should be given special recognition in the forthcoming peace conference with Japan. We will not give up our prerogative in seeking an early peace treaty.

-7-

VIII. Negotiation for better treatment of overseas Chinese

Most of the countries in the South Seas and in Central and South America have been either prohibiting our people from entering their country for business purposes or discriminating against them. Therefore, we must continue our efforts to eliminate such conditions. Our overseas people and their property must be fully protected. Friendship between the overseas Chinese and the natives must be improved. Negotiations must be undertaken to effect the modification of restrictions on bank remittances which have been set up against our people particularly. When it becomes necessary, we will increase the number of consulates in the South Seas Islands.

IX. Increase of intelligence net-work in foreign countries

For the purpose of collecting important information from various parts of the world, a number of intelligence agents were sent in 1947 to Germany, Brazil, Canada, Washington, Paris, Rome, Cairo, Manila, Angola and London. The Government is now planning to increase the number of these agents in order to expand its intelligence work in the foreign countries.

X. Scrutinizing and supervising the personnel both in the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its affiliated branches, consulates and embassies, throughout the world.

In addition to the supervision of personnel, a system of recording the qualifications of the employees in the various branch offices will be effected. This system makes possible the transfer of personnel from one office to another, thus enabling them to gain greater experience in diplomatic affairs. )

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